

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00  
INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03  
NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-12 OMB-01  
MCE-00 TRSE-00 AID-05 HA-05 /094 W  
-----071982 211349Z /44

O 211300Z NOV 77

FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6851  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 4673

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PORG, PDEV, WA  
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA - CONTACT GROUP MEETING WITH NYERERE

SUMMARY: IN A ONE-HOUR MEETING WITH THE WESTERN FIVE  
CONTACT GROUP TODAY, PRESIDENT NYERERE VOICED HIS SUPPORT FOR  
OUR CONTINUED EFFORT AND THE ELEMENTS OF OUR SETTLEMENT PROPOSAL.  
SUBSTANTIAL UN INVOLVEMENT IS ESSENTIAL IN HIS VIEW. FOR HIS  
PART, HE WILL DO WHAT HE CAN TO GET SWAPO TO MODIFY ITS POSI-  
TION AND AGREE TO OUR PACKAGE. END SUMMARY.

1. THE CONTACT GROUP MET WITH PRESIDENT NYERERE AND FOREIGN  
MINISTER MKAPA AT STATE HOUSE 10:00 A.M. TODAY. NYERERE GREETED  
US WARMLY AND LISTENED ATTENTIVELY WHILE AMBASSADOR MCHENRY  
DELIVERED OUR AGREED TALKING POINTS.

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2. RESPONDING, NYERERE SAID THAT IN HIS VIEW THE WITHDRAWAL OF  
SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS FROM NAMIBIA WAS "THE MORE IMPORTANT OF THE  
THREE REMAINING ISSUES" (I.E., WITHDRAWAL, RELEASE OF POLITICAL  
PRISONERS AND THE DATE OF THE ELECTION). ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT SAY  
SO DIRECTLY, CLEARLY HE AGREED THAT SOME SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS  
WOULD HAVE TO REMAIN IN NAMIBIA UNTIL INDEPENDENCE, AND HE HAD NO

DIFFICULTY WITH THE FIGURE OF 1500. HE EMPHASIZED, HOWEVER, THE IMPORTANCE OF HAVING A SIGNIFICANTLY LARGER UN FORCE THAN SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS. HE SAID THAT "IF I WERE SWAPO" AND THE CONTACT GROUP PROPOSED 2,000 SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS, "I WOULD HAVE AT LEAST DOUBLE THAT NUMBER" OF TROOPS TO REMOVE SWAPO'S FEARS ABOUT THE PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY IN NAMIBIA DURING THE ELECTORAL PERIOD. SWAPO, HE SAID, WILL ARGUE AGAINST THE PRESENCE OF ANY SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS DURING THIS PERIOD. HE SAID THE FRONT LINE WOULD "HAVE TO MEET WITH THEM" AND USE THE ARGUMENT OF THE UN FORCE AS A BASIS FOR CHANGING SWAPO'S MIND ON THIS QUESTION.

3. HE APPARENTLY ATTACHED NO PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE TO WHETHER THE SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS WOULD BE CONFINED TO ONE OR TWO BASES, ALTHOUGH HE SEEMED TO PREFER ONE BASE. LATER IN THE DISCUSSION MCHENRY SAID THAT THE FIGURE OF 2,000 UN TROOPS WAS MINIMUM AND THAT THE ACTUAL NUMBER WOULD BE DETERMINED BY LOGISTICS AND THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE TASK. NYERERE AGREED, BUT STRESSED THERE WAS A "POLITICAL REQUIREMENT" IN THAT THE UN FORCE HAD TO BE LARGE ENOUGH FOR SWAPO TO "FEEL POLITICALLY SECURE" THAT ELECTIONS WOULD BE CONDUCTED FAIRLY.

4. WHEN AMBASSADOR MURRAY MENTIONED FINANCIAL CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING THE SIZE OF A UN FORCE, NYERERE REPLIED THAT IF THERE IS THE WILL TO SOLVE THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM, THE MONEY CAN BE FOUND TO PAY FOR WHATEVER SIZE UN FORCE IS NECESSARY. HE ADDED  
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THAT IF WE TALK IN TERMS OF NOT BEING ABLE TO PAY FOR A UN FORCE LARGE ENOUGH TO DO THE JOB, THERE WOULD BE SOME WHO WOULD BE PLEASED TO HEAR THIS -- THE SOUTH AFRICANS AND THE SOVIET IN PARTICULAR. HE SAID THE SOVIETS MIGHT WELL PREFER THAT NO SETTLEMENT BE REACHED FOR NAMIBIA. CONTINUED TROUBLE WAS TO THEIR ADVANTAGE, AND MOREOVER THEY MIGHT NOT CONSIDER SWAPO SUFFICIENTLY MARXIST YET TO TAKE CONTROL OF AN RUN NAMIBIA IN A MANNER OF THEIR LIKING.

5. MR. LE POINTE ASKED WHETHER NYERERE SAW ANY OBJECTION TO SOUTH AFRICAN CIVILIANS HELPING THE UN MAINTAIN THE SA BASES ALONG THE NORTHERN BORDER. NYERERE ANSWERED THAT IF THIS WAS A SUBJECT WE HAD NOT DISCUSSED PREVIOUSLY, HE THOUGHT WE HAD BEST NOT RAISE IT NOW. IT WOULD BE BETTER TO STICK TO THE "OUT-STANDING PROBLEMS" AND NOT RISK RAISING SUSPICIONS BY INJECTING A NEW ISSUE INTO OUR TALKS.

6. WITH REGARD TO POLITICAL PRISONERS, HE REJECTED ANY LINKAGE BETWEEN THE RELEASE OF THOSE HELD BY THE SOUTH AFRICANS AND THOSE DETAINED ELSEWHERE. SOUTH AFRICA, AFTER ALL, WAS THE OPPRESSOR OF NAMIBIA. SWAPO, HE ACKNOWLEDGED, DID HAVE " TO ANSWER A LITTLE" ON THIS MATTER, "BUT NOT TO SOUTH AFRICA". THE

QUESTION OF NAMIBIANS HELD OUTSIDE SOUTH

AFRICA OR NAMIBIA

WAS ONE TO BE DECIDED BY "SWAPO AND THEIR FRIENDS", SPECIFICALLY  
ZAMIBA AND TANZANIA. IT WAS "NOT A QUESTION TO BE DISCUSSED  
WITH SOUTH AFRICA".

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7. NYERERE FOUND IT AMUSING THAT AFTER MORE THAN FIVE DECADES  
SOUTH AFRICA SUDDENLY WAS PRESSING FOR ELECTIONS IMMEDIATELY. HE  
AGREED WITH OUR POSITION THAT THERE MUST BE SUFFICIENT TIME FOR  
CAMPAIGNING BETWEEN THE ARRIVAL OF THE UN IN NAMIBIA AND THE  
ELECTIONS. THOSE OF SWAPO WHO HAVE BEEN OUTSIDE NAMIBIA NEEDED  
TIME TO GET A FEEL OF THE COUNTRY AND TO COUNTER THE EFFECTS OF  
SOUTH AFRICAN PROPAGANDA DIRECTED AGAINST THEM. SWAPO WAS  
STRONG AND HE WAS CONFIDENT THEY WOULD WIN THE ELECTION, BUT  
THEY HAD TO HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY "TO APPEAR BEFORE THE PEOPLE".

8. MCHENRY ASKED HOW IT COULD BE ASSURED THAT SWAPO WOULD  
ABIDE BY THE ELECTION RESULTS IN THE UNLIKELY EVENT THEY DID NOT  
WIN. NYERERE RESPONDED THAT HE BELIEVED SWAPO WOULD WIN, BUT THAT  
IF THEY DID NOT, HE FORESAW "TROUBLE". ALL THE MORE REASON, HE  
ADDED, FOR THEM TO HAVE ENOUGH TIME TO CAMPAIGN. HE SAID THAT

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"IN PRACTICAL TERMS" ONLY ZAMBIA AND ANGOLA COULD GIVE A "WORTHWHILE ASSURANCE" THAT SWAPO WOULD NOT RESORT TO ARMS IF THEY LOST THE ELECTION.

9. HIS CONCERN ABOUT RHODESIA SURFACED WHEN HE EXPRESSED SERIOUS CONCERN ABOUT "SWAPO GETTING IDEAS IN THEIR HEADS" THAT IF ZIMBABWE GETS INDEPENDENCE WITHOUT ELECTIONS, SWAPO MIGHT WANT THE SAME FOR THEMSELVES. MUSING FURTHER ABOUT THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM, HE REFERRED TO THE "NON-EXISTENT PATRIOTIC FRONT" AND HIS WORRY THAT WHAT SOME OF THE PARTIES "REALLY WANT IS AN AGREEMENT WITH SMITH".

10. THE DISCUSSION TURNED BACK TO NAMIBIA. MCHENRY NOTED THAT WE HOPED TO TALK TO NYERERE'S FRONT LINE COLLEAGUES AND SWAPO BEFORE WE GO ON TO SOUTH AFRICA. WE ESPECIALLY WANTED TO SEE NETO, BUT NO MEE(ING HAD BEEN ARRANGED YET. NYERERE SAID HE BELIEVED NETO WANTS A SETTLEMENT; IT WAS IN HIS INTEREST TO SEE AN END TO SOUTH AFRICAN PRESENCE IN NAMIBIA AND THE INSTALLATION OF A SWAPO GOVERNMENT THERE. HE REPEATED HIS BELIEF THAT THE SOVIETS PREFERRED FIGHTING TO CONTINUE ALONG THE NAMIBIAN-ANGOLAN BORDER. THE CUBANS DID NOT, HE SAID. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE CUBANS DO NOT WANT TO CONTINUE TO FIGHT IN ANGOLA. THEY ARE "PAYING HEAVILY", BUT ARE COMMITTED TO CONTINUE TO FIGHT ON BEHALF OF NETO. AS LONG AS SOUTH AFRICA PERSISTED IN SUPPORTING UNITA, "THE CUBANS WILL HAVE TO STAY".

11. HE CONCLUDED THE MEETING BY WISHING US GOOD LUCK IN OUR ENDEAVOR TO ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT.

12. COMMENT: WE GOT ABOUT AS MUCH SUPPORT FROM NYERERE AS WE EXPECTED. HE FULLY REALIZES THAT WE CANNOT GET A SETTLEMENT IF WE PRESS FOR A TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS, BEFORE THE ELECTION PROCESS BEGINS. HE IS MORE CONCERNED

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ABOUT THE SIZE OF A UN FORCE THAN HE IS ABOUT THE NUMBER OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS. HE WILL SEE TO THE RELEASE OF SHIPANGO AND HIS TEN FOLLOWERS, BUT NOT ON SOUTH AFRICAN TERMS. HE REGARDS OUR SETTLEMENT PACKAGE AS FAIR AND WILL DO WHAT HE CAN WITH HIS FRONT LINE COLLEAGUES TO BRING SWAPO AROUND. HIS DEEP CONCERN ABOUT RHODESIA EXTENDS TO THE POSSIBLE EFFECT THAT A MANEUVER TO SET ASIDE ELECTIONS FOR AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE WOULD HAVE ON THE PROSPECTS FOR A NAMIBIAN SETTLEMENT.

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## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** PORG, PDEV, WA, (NYERERE, JULIUS K)  
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